

THE WORD

MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD

ORGAN OF THE UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

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FACTS BEHIND

THE COMMON MARKET

On Friday, January 18, 1952, the *Scottish Daily Express* (No. 16092) gave front page banner headings, stretched across the full width of the front page (14 inches) to Win-

ston Churchill's *Declaration of Independence* before the U.S. Congress at Washington.

I reproduce this heading in facsimile, in this issue, but reduced to the page size of *The Word*.

CHURCHILL TO AMERICA:

Our standards of life are our own business, and we can only keep our self-respect and independence by looking after them ourselves

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

We ask no favours, no dole 'And now we must clear the air for Winston Churchill'

EMPIRE WILL NEVER BE A STATE IN ANY CONTINENTAL GROUP

From R. M. MacCOLL: Washington, Thursday

WINSTON CHURCHILL barked out at America's Congress in a firm, clear voice today: "Our standards of life are our own business, and we can only keep our self-respect and independence by looking after them ourselves."

He drawled: "I have not come to ask you for money . . ." and the packed House roared with laughter. The Prime Minister paused, and went on: ". . . to ask you for money to make life more comfortable or easier for us in Britain."

"I have come here not to ask for gold, but for steel—not for favours, but for equipment." Congress crashed into applause.

TWO PEOPLE FAINT

And he thrust home this Declaration of Independence theme with: "The British Commonwealth of Nations, is not prepared to become a state or group of states in any Continental system—on either side of the Atlantic."

The applause had started as soon as a voice cried out: "The Prime Minister of Great Britain"—even before anyone could see him.

Eleven hundred people in the public galleries of the House of Representatives—two fainted—jumped to their feet. So did the members of the Supreme Court, in long, black robes. So did the United States Cabinet and massed ambassadors.

TWO DAUGHTERS LISTEN

Then in marched the familiar figure, rosy-cheeked and smiling affably. He wore a formal black frockcoat and a polka-dot tie that rivals the eagle as his trade mark.

Up in the gallery Mrs. Truman, daughter Margaret in a black suit, and pretty Sarah Churchill applauded along with everyone else—even the official shorthand reporters.

This is the way Mr. Churchill surveyed the world's trouble spots:

(Continued from page 95, Vol. XXII)

ESSAY FOUR

Churchill spoke of the Middle East, the Far East, Europe, Rearmament. Certainly the speech ended with a defence

The heading was illustrated with a radioed picture of three persons. Inserted in the picture was this letterpress:

Then followed the report.

of NATO for achieving a system of grand alliance, which Nato has not achieved, and a denunciation of possible Communist aggression. This was Churchill's way of thanking the Soviet Union for its stand against Hitlerism and its capture of Berlin. Clearly, however, the speech did not foreshadow the Common Market, but denounced and challenged it. In 1952, therefore, the leader of the Conservative Party in Washington itself declared war on the Common Market. Churchill's statement is definite. *And the Tory Party supported it.*

The *General Election News* issued from the Conservative and Unionist Central Office, Abbey House, 28 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, stated in 1950, in bold letters:

THIS is the Right Road to Travel

Beneath this caption is said:

On February 23rd the British people will vote for a new Government on which the future of the country will depend. The Conservative Party promise to guard their freedom, to rescue them from Socialism which is the halfway house to Communism, to fight the rising cost of living, improve the supply of houses and to use all their efforts to secure steady jobs for all.

Present day conditions give the lie to this statement.

In the next column, a bold heading and following sentence stated:

MAKE GREAT BRITAIN GREAT AGAIN

Either Britain is great or it is nothing. Without the Empire and Commonwealth, Britain would be a poverty-stricken and over-crowded island, with an insignificant voice in the World's affairs.'

Churchill's 1952 challenge to the U.S.A., and definite repudiation of the Common Market, was the historic view of the Tory Party.

Harold Macmillan himself said as far back as October, 23, 1929:

"If we go into a European combine we must depress the standard of living of our people to that of the European standard."

"I am sure English people will not hesitate about this."

"We ought seriously to consider whether we should not be wiser to revert to the tradition of the Conservative Party, that of the imperial tradition, rather than become too much involved in a rather vague internationalism."

The Tory Party Conference at Brighton on Wednesday, October 11, overwhelmingly rejected a motion calling on the Government to declare its clear resolve not to approve any proposals for joining the Common Market which involve surrender of British sovereignty or are inconsistent with pledges to British agriculture and horticulture, or to

the continuance by the United Kingdom of and world affairs.

How does this rejection square with Winston Churchill's Washington speech?

Sir Derek Walker-Smith, M.P., ex-Minister of Health, moved this motion.

Duncan Sandys spoke against the motion in a speech that ought to have upheld it.

"My grandfather," he said, "was one of the pioneers of New Zealand 100 years ago. He was one of the first settlers in the Canterbury Plain. I would sooner go right out of public life than have any hand in breaking up the Commonwealth." (Hear hear, roared the delegates.)

How can any sane political thinker use such language and uphold the Treaty of Rome?

Heath stated that Sir Derek's declaration would hamstring him in negotiations. He made it clear that Macmillan and company were going to sign the Treaty of Rome.

"It will help to unite Europe in a barrier against Soviet Russia."

And that is the real purpose of the Common Market.

The main reason for rejecting the Common Market is that no British Government which was a part of this union would have the right to control its own affairs.

Lord Gladwyn, in an interview in *The Director*, July 1961, stated:

"If we accept the Treaty of Rome, we shall gradually surrender the right to make economic decisions affecting our own economy, to an organisation, or organisations, which we shall be able to influence strongly but not dominate."

Sir James Hutchison, President of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, on June 21, 1961, told the annual meeting that it would be "wrong, weak and misguided to capitulate and go into the Common Market without conditions."

The Annual Report of the British Electrical and Allied Manufacturers' Association published in April 1957, said that while British industry might increase its exports to the Common Market countries, the possibility of these countries invading the British market was much greater.

Harold Woolley, president of the National Farmers' Union said in Manchester on Monday, October 9, 1961, at a Luncheon Club meeting:

"Over all, our food prices are lower in this country. If we were to change to this other system it would, so far as we can tell, mean a very marked and significant increase in our food costs. This would have its reactions on wages, social benefits and rights throughout the community."

The truth of this statement, as regards social benefits and rights was made clear at the Tory Party Conference by the very people who applauded the Macmillan idea of the Common Market.

Macmillan has already sold out to Kennedy on the Polaris bases and to Adenauer on German bases, and put this country in deadly danger by his subservience to Washington and the ex-Nazi generals.

The Tory Government is now succumbing to further American pressure to take Britain into the Common Market, and by doing so, surrender the right to decide for ourselves the political and economic policies of our own country.

Entry into the Common Market is presented as though it were a wonderfully clever device for freeing trade and enlarging markets, with the minor difficulty that it might disturb a few odd sections of the economy which are at present being feather-bedded.

This is a complete misrepresentation of the economics of the Common Market. But more than that, it is a deliberate effort to distract from and hide the fact that proposed entry into the Common Market is a fundamental political step.

The Common Market is the economic and political arm of NATO; it perpetuates the division of Europe and is a further threat to peace.

Viscount Hinchinbrooke, speaking in Parliament on May 18, 1961, said:

"I do not wish to discredit the President of the United States. I only say that there are some people in the United States, in the Pentagon, in the State Department, who find Britain and our Commonwealth just a little bit inconvenient. Nothing would please them better than for the jaws of the Common Market to open just wide enough to take Britain's head and shoulders and then snap shut at our waist-line, and allow the great appendages of Empire all over the world—this great maritime Commonwealth on which we pride ourselves—to be quietly nibbled up."

The purpose of the Common Market is to mould Europe into an aggressive anti-Socialist alliance, hostile to the Socialist forces within the Common Market area.

Professor Hallstein, German head of the Market's European Commission, has declared that any nation entering it must support all its institutions, with their supranational, political character. "We are not in business at all," he said, "we are in politics."

The politics of the Common Market are those of Dr. Adenauer. The decisive forces in the Common Market will resist any European settlement which does not meet the full claims of the West German imperialists. Adenauer gets support from some of the most powerful and fascist-minded bankers and big business interests in France.

The Common Market hardens the division between West and East, rejects the prospect of peaceful trade and peaceful coexistence and is a further menace to the peace of the world.

The Common Market is controlled by the most reactionary political forces in Europe. Look at the Council (powers defined in Articles 145 to 154). It consists of a Minister from each Government.

COMMON MARKET COUNCIL

| Country | Party in power | Voting strength |
|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| W. Germany | Dr. A's Christian Dems. | 4 |
| France | de Gaulle's Party | 4 |
| Italy | Segni's Christian Dems. | 4 |
| Belgium | Lefevre's Christian Soc. | ... 2 |
| Netherlands | de Quay's Catholic P.P. | 2 |
| Luxembourg | Werner's Catholic Party | 2 |

The Council takes decisions which are binding on the member-states. It takes decisions by a majority. In some cases this majority must be not less than twelve votes. But there is nothing democratic in the way these decisions are taken.

The most influential propagandist is President Kennedy. On the television we have seen that unworthy successor of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, snub and humiliate Premier Macmillan. The latter told the Tory "patriots" at their packed stupid submissive anti-Socialist gathering at Brighton that he could not be at the helm always. He never was at the helm. Wall St. appointed Kennedy. Macmillan is only the Stars and Stripes Cabin Boy.

Last June, we were told in the capitalist press that Kennedy's talks with Macmillan in London had one tense, blunt theme: "You must join Europe now."

NOTE: I have been unable to complete the study of *The Common Market*. The fifth and final essay will be published next month.

PAT ARROWSMITH

This journal calls for the resignation of the Dunoon Sheriff who sentenced "ban the bomb" leader and organiser, Pat Arrowsmith to three months' imprisonment without the option of the fine. It also demands the resignation of the impertinent Secretary of State for Scotland, John MacLay. This party-entrenched political ignoramus and reactionary who mistakes the authority of place and power for the ethics of law and has no constitutional understanding should be allowed no place in public life. He should be treated to *solitary contempt* wherever he appears in public. Let the democracy subject this petty bureaucrat to "the silence rule".

In the Commons on Wednesday, August 24, 1961, William Baxter (Ind., West Stirlingshire), a rebel unilateralist, accused the sheriff of "obvious personal prejudice".

"In view of the savagery of the sentence and the obvious personal prejudice of the sheriff in this instance . . ."

The Speaker, Sir Harry Hylton-Foster, pulled him up sharply. He told Mr Baxter: "You cannot say that. You must take other steps if you want to urge that."

Scottish Secretary John MacLay refused to intervene or to excuse Miss Arrowsmith from solitary confinement in the jail. He said:

"I have carefully considered the circumstances of the case in the light of my power to exercise a recommendation on the prerogative of mercy. I have reached a conclusion that there are no grounds for action on my part."

The storm over the jailing of Miss Arrowsmith broke when two English Labour M.P.s—Mrs Joyce Butler (Wood Green) and Tom Driberg (Barking)—quizzed the Scottish Secretary about her hunger-strike and artificial feeding.

MacLay said: "Miss Arrowsmith refused, after breakfast on October 6, to take further meals in protest against the sewing by other women prisoners of canvas bags which could be used as sandbags. To maintain her health the medical officer decided that artificial feeding was necessary and this was undertaken on a total of four occasions—on October 11, 12 and 13.

After MacLay had refused to release Miss Arrowsmith, he was urged by Frank Allaun (Lab., Salford East) to end her solitary confinement and to ensure that she got the normal one month's remission on her sentence.

"This sentence is vicious, harsh and savage," he said angrily.

MacLay told him: "She must be subject to the normal prison rules."

TORTURING THE C.O.'s

(Concluded from page 3)

But what is labour outside the prison walls going to do to aid the men who are striving, fighting, dying for liberty and brotherhood within the prison walls? We are giving our lives to the cause. We are resisting servitude. We are checking, by our work, discipline, and hunger strikes in prison, the Government's power to impose further conscription upon the workers. We are checking its power to make war on the Russian Workers' Republic. And you, who have escaped or evaded imprisonment and the sufferings which have been ours for three years, yet profess our Socialist faith: What, I ask, are you going to do to put an end to the fiendish torture which has been exposed in this article? Comrades, I leave the question to your conscience and to your solidarity, and I resume calmly my place in the fight. Act—and act soon. Put aside resolutions. Display with us, instead, resolution. Demand and secure our freedom that, with you, we may triumphantly assist in the inauguration of the Social Revolution.

*The writer was re-arrested after addressing a meeting on Clapham Common on Sunday, March 16, 1919.

PAT ARROWSMITH IS CLEARLY A C.O. HER FORCIBLE FEEDING RECALLS THE FOLLOWING EXPOSURE WRITTEN BY THE EDITOR IN 1919 FOLLOWING HIS FIRST HUNGER STRIKE IN WANDSWORTH PRISON.

TORTURING THE C.O.s. By Guy Aldred.

What Forcible Feeding Means.

THE Government re-arrested Harding, one of the Wandsworth hunger strikers, and apparently attempted to forcibly feed him. It was compelled to release him owing to twelve other men going on hunger strike. Dutch, one of Harding's fellow "mice," who returned to prison on hearing of Harding's re-arrest, was released at the same time, not temporarily, but permanently. Apparently Harding is to be arrested yet again. And then there are the Winchester men. Under these circumstances I wish, in the columns of *THE DREADNOUGHT*, to call attention to the history of forcible feeding.

Crime is an economic question. So is the prison despotism which affects to cure it. And it is so in more ways than one. Every warder is open to corruption and the Home Office toadies to rank. In the fall of 1909, that reactionary son of the hypocritical G.O.M. of Hawarden, Home Secretary Gladstone, sanctioned the process of forcible feeding. I am proud to have stood in the dock about this time and to have been found guilty of sedition by a jury of nondescript shopkeepers, partly for ridiculing Gladstone's willingness bombastically to settle everything by saying he took full responsibility. When a man wars against the ashes of Dhingra as this mediocrity did, his "responsibility" tends to become a public scandal. Apparently, even the Government thought so, and transferred him to Africa accordingly. However, this worthless politician inaugurated forcible feeding, and the first victim

was Mrs. Mary Leigh. Her experiences will serve as an index to the sufferings which are falling to the lot of C.O.s to-day, after nearly three years' imprisonment. They illustrate the terrible penalties inflicted for something like thirteen months upon Ribiero, the Manchester C.O., whom the Government had to release after repeated arrests, releases, and re-arrests.

Mrs. Mary Leigh was pinioned by having her arms and legs held down, and her head was forced backwards. An india-rubber tube was then inserted through the nose or mouth, and pushed down the throat. At the end of the tube was a cup, through which liquid was poured. Perhaps the chaplain was looking on, in case he was required to read the burial service. That would be in accord with his duties. It was established subsequently by the testimony of leading medical men that, in the case of sane, conscious, and unwilling patients, this feeding by force does not nourish the victims. It is consequently not only futile, but brutal and dangerous, being an attempt to undermine a starved stomach. Describing the process, Mrs. Leigh said:—

"The sensation is most painful. The drums of the ears seem to be bursting. There is a horrible pain in the throat and breast, with noises in the head. It made my eyes gush out with water, and I was horribly sick. The after-effects are a feeling of faintness, a sense of extreme pain in the breast bones, and a noise in the ears."

At the time of writing, I expect, but am not sure, that my comrade Thiel, a re-arrested "mouse" from Twickenham, is enduring this torture in Wandsworth. During my recent Glasgow lectures, I was informed that some of my British C.O. comrades are undergoing this

agony. And by the time these lines are in print I expect to be re-arrested myself, and to be, enjoying a like experience.

Remember, that the Government has for three years endeavoured, by a continuous prison persecution, to break down my health and to destroy my power of resistance. It has placed me in a filthy semi-underground cell for several months, without books, letters, or visits. But my constitution is virile. The attempt to destroy me has failed. And so it must needs pursue these tactics. Suffering with me, in various prisons, will be other comrades, possessed of like firmness of endurance, like determination, like constitutional vigour. Are these characteristics criminal? Does their possession argue a justification for such persecution? Is it the will of the workers that these tortures should continue?

Let me cite once more from the past to show that this indictment of forcible feeding and prison treatment is no extravagance, but a sober statement of fact. In November, 1910, Mr. Hugh Franklin was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment in the second division for deliberately and intentionally assaulting Mr. Churchill. Thirteen months later, Mr. McDougall was convicted of an unpremeditated and, consequently, unintentional assault on Mr. Lloyd George. McDougall was only eighteen and Lloyd George received no injury whatever. It was, though, consequently, that McDougall would receive a light sentence. Instead of this, he was sent to hard labour for two months. The difference

between the two cases was this: *Franklin was a relative of a Cabinet Minister, whereas McDougall was only a poor lad.*

Mr. William Ball was a friend of McDougall. He regarded the divergences of sentence as a political and social outrage, and, by way of protest broke a Government office window. He was sentenced to two months' hard labour as a result. Ball insisted that his offence was a political one as it unquestionably was. No heed was given to his protest, however, and he accordingly went on hunger-strike. Just imagine what now happened! Just think over the cant and hypocrisy of our capitalist present-day civilisation! Christmas Day is supposed to be Christ's birthday. In reality, as we all know, it is nothing of the kind. It is merely a day that signifies the Pagan corruption of the Christian Church and the perpetuation of Pagan Solarism in the terms of conventional Christian unbelief. However, custom and pre-Christian folk-lore have associated all sorts of sentimental traditions with this day, although such traditions have little effect on the realities of human suffering. In prison, our unfortunates are marched to church, often amidst the shouting and curses of warders and wardresses, who represent, often-times, the most vulgar, sordid, and despicable, if pathetic, offshoots of our miserable civilisation. This is not a true description of every warder and wardress. But it does stand true of the prison official as a type or average. The recent tendency they have exhibited, however, to identify themselves with the labour movement is a hopeful sign and promises an end to their willingness blindly to serve the system. But we must speak of them as they are, and forget that, if they dared, they would act nobler sometimes than their job permits.

Cravens before those placed above them by authority, but not merit! Petty tyrants over

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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those unfortunates delivered into their hands by economic causes and legal hypocrisy! Yet afraid of the individual whose rebel soul is the one noble thing that blossoms amidst the most defiant

in the atmosphere of the prison hell! Compelled curs are these agents of our system, ever forced, willing or unwilling, to silence the friends of the miserable victims of judges' spleen! What instances one could give if only space permitted!

The church service in prison is a ludicrous piece of blasphemy, to which, during my incarceration, I have refused to go. Warders, with solemn faces and in bullying attitudes, bid prisoners, whose souls the social system has corrupted and the prison system quite destroyed, follow the hireling foot-knave of a chaplain when he is dilating on the sufferings of Christ and the joys of God! Let any prisoner but possess spiritual understanding, let him but boast a soul which revolts against the knavery of the system that has gagged him, and his spirit will be consumed with rage, until he will want to tear the heart out of some hideous-garbed warder near him, strangle the life out of some soul-assassin who is preaching up platitudes, and stand erect with hand uplifted over the miserable form of the craven prison governor, who acts as sidesman and reads the lessons!

It was on Christmas Day, 1911, then, when this piece of cant had ended, and the Christmas tracts and usual fare had been distributed—for they hand round tracts, but give no different food at this "joyful" season—that Mr. Ball was submitted to forcible feeding. For five and a half weeks this treatment was continued, and although Mr. Ball was strong enough physically to remain alive under this disgusting treatment, his mentality weakened and he was driven temporarily insane.

Mr. Ball complained, whilst being fed forcibly and for long after, of electricity and noises in his head. Driven mad by hirelings, under a system of barbarous torture and secret despotism, he was removed to a lunatic asylum as a pauper lunatic, without his wife being consulted. Subsequently, this iniquity was righted to some extent: but that such a barbarous procedure was possible serves as some index to the sufferings that must fall to the lot of a friendless prisoner.

It is pretended, in defence of the prison system, that all this barbarism is essential to discipline, and that discipline is necessary to reform. This is but the red-tape way of spelling slavery: and under all circumstances, as so many members of the Police and Prison Officers' Union know only too well, slavery breeds vice and not virtue. Discipline, as a trade job, trampling on every human principle for a hireling wage, is productive of so much evil, that it adopts secrecy because it fears a public exposure of its corruption. As a victim of its oppression, I demand that the public, the common people without the prison

walls, shall not allow us to suffer in silence and secrecy. I insist that they shall not petition whilst we are being tortured to our graves. I insist that they shall act. The only way with despotism is to fight and to expose it, never to plead with it.

Mr. Bonar Law has declared that the Government will not release the C.O.s. Therefore, the men are to die in prison. And those of us who persist in resisting are to die in agonies of torture after three years' failure to destroy either our faith or our resistance. Mr. Shortt, to justify this torture, declares that we men who decline to be slaves are not C.O.s, notwithstanding even the findings of the Government's own precious tribunals. Of course we are not. It is not conscientious, from a Government's standpoint, to resist! Our duty is to submit to illegal imprisonment for all eternity, just to please the bogus manipulator and exploiter of a bogus Irish plot story. Mr. Shortt blames the War Office! And the War Office blames Mr. Shortt! Meanwhile, the parliamentary era draws to its close and the days of the Soviet approach!

(Concluded on page 2)

strous assassination, by the hundreds of thousands, of those among her population who had nothing to do with the war, except so far as acquiescence was forced upon the masses kept in hopeless ignorance?

FROM L.H.H.

Brisbane, Calif., U.S.A.,

October 26, 1961

NORMAN THOMAS DEMANDS

Where was Thomas, with demands for punishment of the guilty, when USA committed, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the greatest crimes recorded in history? And what did he demand when the (fully exposed) intrusion into Russian territory brought to a stop proceedings which would have prevented the present imminence of war between Russia and USA? In point of fact, what demands has he ever made that

would jeopardize his own safety from arch-reactionaries in New York and Washington? If any, such resolute and courageous action escapes the memory of your faithful scribe.

In the United States, it is safe to make one-sided demands on a Communist government. We must remember, however, that Russia offers to grant the fullest inspection, and destroy her entire bomb stock, if U.S. will agree to Total Disarmament. What is wrong about that idea?

As for Japan, now dominated by the sort of government imposed upon it by an agent of U.S. monopoly—who among the rulers over there screamed "outrage" at the mon-

JOHN PEET

F.R.G. REPLY

EX-NAZIS IN THE SERVICE OF THE
"GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC"

(Continued from page 103, Vol. XXII)

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

In the July Word I began the publication of the West German Reply to John Peet. I explained my reasons for doing this in the September issue. The reply will appear serially until exhausted. I shall not edit or alter the statement in any way. Although *The Word* has a regular readership, each month it reaches new readers. It is necessary to state, therefore, that I do not agree with this reply and my own sympathies are entirely with John Peet and the G.D.R. In due course I expect Peet to reply. My concern is complete freedom of statement.

For the benefit of new readers I publish the list of abbreviations each month.

WEST GERMAN STATEMENT

Read the following list (published by the Federal German Republic) of ex-Nazis, who today hold leading positions in the "German Democratic Republic":

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|--|
| CDU | Christian Democratic Party |
| DBD | Democratic Peasant's Party of Germany. |
| DEFA | German Film Corporation (Deutsche Film - Aktiengesellschaft). |
| DNVP | German National People's Party |
| LDP | Liberal Democratic Party |
| NDP | National Democratic Party |
| NSDAP | National Socialist Workers Party. |
| SA | Storm Troops (Sturmabteilung) |
| SBZ | Soviet Zone of Occupation |
| SED | Socialist Unit Party of Germany |
| SS | Nazi Bodyguard (Schutzstaffel) |

ERNST ECKARDT (CDU): Vice-chairman of the Suhl District branch of the CDU. Deputy to the Suhl District parliament (Bezirkstag). Awarded the Pin of Honour of the National Front and the Ernst Moritz Arndt Medal.

Before 1975: joined the NSDAP: 1-9-40, Membership No. 7,726,954.

RUDOLF EICHHORN (CDU): Bezirksbaudirektor (district surveyor) and Vice-chairman of the Dresden District Council. Member of the Dresden District Economic Council. Deputy to the Dresden District parliament (Bezirkstag) and to the People's Chamber.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-9-39, Membership No. 169,141.

Dr. ERICH EINSPOHN: Chairman of the Gera District Peace Council. Honorary Vice-president of the International Physical Commission. Awarded the Fatherland Order of Merit in Silver and the Peace Medal.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-1-40, Membership No. 7,383,628. Regierungsrat (retired).

FRANZ EISELT (CDU): Deputy to the People's Chamber. Chairman of the "Bördefrieden" Agricultural Production Collective (kolkhoze) in Elchenbarleben. Member of the Central Committee of the CDU. Awarded the Pin of Honour of the National Front and the Pin of Honour of the CDU.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-11-38, Membership No. 6,649,635.

GERHARD ELVERT (SED): Director of the Institute of Agrarian Economy of the German Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Until 1958 Acting Minister of Agriculture and Forestry of the SBZ (Soviet Occupied Zone).

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-8-1944 Membership No. 10,083,864. Group leader in the Hitler Youth Movement (No. 403,241).

Dr. HASSO EBBACH: Professorship of Pathology at the Academy of Medicine in Magdeburg. Until October 1958 Rector of the Academy of Medicine in Magdeburg. Guest Deputy to the 5th Party Conference of the SED.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-5-37, Membership No. 5,807,704.

Dr. THEODOR EVERSMAHN (CDU): Deputy to the People's Chamber. Chief mine surveyor for the People's Own Copper Mining Industry. "Labour Hero". Activist. Awarded the Peace Badge in Silver and the Peace Pin in Gold.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-5-37, Membership No. 5,068,879.

FRIEDRICH FRANZ (SED): Diploma Engineer. Vice-president of the Soviet Zone Chamber of Technology. Former technical director of the People's Own Brandenburg steel and rolling mills. "Labour Hero". Order of the "Banner of Labour". Golden Pin of Honour of the KDT. Fatherland Order of Merit in Silver.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-5-33, Membership No. 3,404,081. Acting Managing Director of the Gutehoffnung Steel Works A.G. in Oberhausen.

Dr. GERHARD FICKEL (CDU): Deputy to the People's Chamber. Doctor in charge of the Weibeneck-Weinbenburg TB sanatorium. Member of the Gera District Committee of the CDU.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-9-38, Membership No. 6,992,538.

REINHOLD FLESCHHUT (SED): Until 1958 President of the Chamber for Foreign Trade of the Soviet Zone. 1955-57 Deputy Lord Mayor of Leipzig and Deputy to the District parliament. Awarded the Fatherland Order of Merit in Bronze.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-5-37, Membership No. 4,427,825.

EGBERT VON FRANKENBERG UND PROSCHLITZ (NDP): President of the "General Motor Sport Association" of the Soviet Zone. Member of the Committee of the "Working Group of ex-Officers". Military-political commentator to the national broadcasting service and to various Soviet Zone newspapers.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-4-31. Membership No. 516,855. Joined the SS 7-11-32. Major in the Air Force. Member of the "National Committee for Free Germany" in Moscow. Announcer on the Moscow broadcasting station.

Dr. HEINZ FUNKE (SED): Until 1958 Deputy to the People's Chamber. Deputy to the Dresden District parliament. Doctor in charge of the Görlitz District Hospital. "Meritorious People's Doctor".

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-5-37, Membership No. 4,846,055. Joined the SS: 3-11-33 (SS lance sergeant).

HANS JURGEN GEERDTS (SED): "Progressive" writer. Professorship of Modern and Recent German Literature at the Ernst Moritz-Arndt University of Greifswald.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-9-40, Membership No. 7,747,667.

Dr. HEINRICH GEIBLER (NDP): Member of the City Council of East Berlin. Legal adviser to the Verlag der Nation.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-5-33, Membership No. 2,982,687. Landgericht judge.

HANS GERICKE (NDP): Member of the City Council of East Berlin. 1951-53 municipal councillor for reconstruction on the municipal council. (Magistrat) of East Berlin. Member of the Central Committee of the NDP. Architect.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-5-33, Membership No. 2,958,041.

ERHARD GILBKE: Head of the Department of municipal building of East Berlin. Member of the municipal council (Magistrat) and the City Council. Activist. "Meritorious Activist".

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-9-42, Membership No. 9,255,457.

Dr. PAUL GORLICH: Scientific Director-in-chief of the People's Own Carl Zeiss Works in Jena. Professor at the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena. Winner of National Prize and "Meritorious People's Technician".

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-2-40, Membership No. 7,476,670.

KARL-HEINZ GOTZE (SED): Vice-chairman of the Economic Council of the District of Cottbus. 1954-58 Vice-chairman of the Cottbus District Council. Deputy to the District parliament (Bezirkstag).

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-9-40, Membership No. 7,689,398.

HANS GORZYNSKI (CDU): Deputy to the People's Chamber. Member of the National Council of the National Front.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-5-33, Membership No. 2,989,947.

HERMANN GRIMM (LDP): Deputy to the People's Chamber. Joint owner of a machine factory in Triebes. Town Councillor.

Before 1945: joined the NSDAP: 1-5-37, Membership No. 5,484,196.

(To be continued)

GUARANTEE FUND

Donations received from 20th April to 13th September 1961:

R. Wilson £1; T. Watson; 7/-; J. S. Miller 13/-; H. Deighton £3; R. Woodhouse 17/- (\$2.50); S. Stalcup 14/- (\$2); W. Cordiner 22/6; Capt. Cookson £7; T. Yuill £1 10/-; D. Ward £1; R. W. Pickering £3; H. L. Needham £1 12/3; T. Hamilton 4/6; T. Hyslop £4; M. Gillies £1; J. Cummings 2/-; J. H. Brown 10/-; W. Weir £5 2/-; J. MacDonald £2; Com. Kennedy £1 6/-; R. Draper £1 10/-; H. Allen £1 9/3; S. E. Webb 2/-; R. Barkis £2; "Scroggins" £2; E. Gough; £1; G. Jamieson 12/-; S. Sutton £4 0/3; L. Fisher £6 15/4; P. Durgen 8/-; W. Ross £1 5/-; "Wellwisher" 12/6; J. Fellowes £3; A. Robertson £5; Mrs Macdonald £1; C. H. Norman £2 11. 6; G. Raphael £2; J. Barrowman 12/-; M. Granston 4/-; G. J. Emmet 7/6; L. Wolfe £1; M. Ennis 17/6 (\$2.50); C. Watters £3; W. Everett 12/-; E. Holmes £1; S. Marletta 6/-; J. Trafford £3; C. Doran £1; J. Randall 12/-; Dr. Sackley £7 (\$20); A. Harding 10/- A. Robertson (Glasgow) £1; Dr. Hlavacek 14/2 (\$2); L. Palmer 6/-; C. E. Smith £1; A. Lyon £1 1/6 (\$3); C. E. Round 5/-; I. S. Auley £5; J. Lambert £3; G. H. Murphy £2 10/-; H. Gow £1; R. Cleary 10/-; G. E. Collison £1.

Already acknowledged for 1959 Maintenance Fund: £676 : 7 : 0. Balance to come: £323 : 12 : 0.

No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FROM BERLIN

LETTER FIVE

Berlin,
June 15, 1961

Dear Fellow Editor—I've just returned from the huge festival hall in the House of Ministries in democratic Berlin. I still feel a little worn out but quite taken in with the exciting atmosphere of a conference which was, in the true sense of the word, of international importance. More than 350 journalists from all over the world—from the socialist countries, the USA, Great Britain, France, Austria, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland and the independent African countries, sat tightly packed together and followed with unusual tension what Walter Ulbricht, chairman of the GDR State Council, had to say about Germany and the West Berlin problem. In this letter let me tell you a little more about the conference.

Myself a Berliner, I am of course particularly interested in anything connected with the West Berlin question. This was not meant to be the main theme of the discussion, but it was brought up again and again by western correspondents.

A West German journalist asked whether the people in a demilitarised, free city of West Berlin would be able to choose their own government. Walter Ulbricht answered: "The West Berliners will be able to decide upon their own government and their own laws. A free city of West Berlin would naturally have the right to conclude whatever economic agreements they like at will with the Federal Republic, with the GDR, Britain, the Soviet Union, Poland."

In any case it would be an advantage. Walter Ulbricht said, if in the framework of a peace treaty, West Berlin were changed into a neutral city. "The West Berliners," he said, "are hardworking, peaceful people; they will be able to reach and maintain a high standard of living in a free West Berlin."

But would then—an American journalist wanted to know—a neutral West Berlin really be sovereign, with protected rights?

"Naturally," Walter Ulbricht answered, "we will do all we can to respect the interests of peaceful West Berliners. We have explicitly stated that we would agree to the United Nations taking over a guarantee for the free city of West Berlin. With the conclusion of a peace treaty, West Berlin would, for the first time, have a legally founded status with international guarantees."

In Walter Ulbricht's opinion there should be objective negotiations on all these questions in order to reach a satisfactory result.

While writing these lines it occurred to me that West Berlin and West German politicians often speak of the necessity of frank discussions. At this conference on June 15th Walter Ulbricht repeated in public one of his numerous invitations to such discussions. Will they be prepared to negotiate at last? For our part the doors are wide open for joint discussions.

Of course many other questions were brought up at the conference. The journalists made full use of the opportunity to get first-hand information on the German and West Berlin problem. It would be impossible for me to report on all of them here.

In conclusion I would like to tell you that the impression left upon me by this international press conference with Walter Ulbricht is that we are making progress towards the conclusion of a peace treaty (16 years after the end of the war) at last, and with the solution of the West Berlin problem. The Berliners are by nature optimistic. And

now according to the words of Walter Ulbricht we have all reason to be so.

"A peace treaty," he said, "will come in any case."

A peace treaty and the creation of a demilitarised, free city of West Berlin are for our nation, the key to peace and the reunification of Germany. And we Germans need this peace, just as we need our daily bread."

I would like to add: You too—all people on earth need peace. A peace treaty with both German states, the transition of the present hotbed of war in West Berlin to a demilitarised, free city, will bring us a whole step nearer to the peace which we all yearn for.

With best regards, I am

Your Berlin Editor
of the Society for Cultural Relations
with Foreign Countries
GUNTHER GRABOW

P.S.—I have received hundreds of letters. I would ask readers of *The Word* and all comrades in Britain, the United States, and all other English speaking countries, not to take offence at delay. I will do my best to answer letters received as soon as possible. Meantime, I thank all for writing.

THE POLARIS BASE

MINISTER GOES TO JAIL

Mr James McGhie, sheriff clerk at Dunoon, issued a warrant on Monday, October 9, 1961, for the arrest of the Rev. Albert J. Goodheir, minister at Tayvallich, Argyll, who was fined £15 for a breach of the peace during the anti-Polaris demonstration at Ardanam recently.

Mr Goodheir (49), declared that he would rather serve the alternative of 60 days imprisonment than pay the fine. The warrant was sent to Argyll police H.Q. at Lochgilphead for execution.

On Wednesday, October 11, the minister was driven to Glasgow's Barlinnie Prison from his manse.

When the police arrived at the Tayvallich manse, they told Dr. Goodheir—"You'll have been expecting us." And gave him a last chance to pay the fine. Dr. Goodheir refused. The police then showed him the warrant for his arrest and said—"We have no option but to do our duty."

The Dutch-born minister agreed, put on his coat, picked up his prison "survival kit", and was driven off. His prison kit was a parcel of books which included: A Bible, some Arabic works, books on philosophy, and a paper-back *Dying We Live*—an anthology of letters written by Nazi victims who died in concentration camps.

Dr. Goodheir fought in the resistance movement during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands.

"I am not looking forward to this," he told an *Evening Times* reporter. "But I'm not dreading it—I've come through worse than this before."

Dr. Goodheir went to prison with great determination. He said: "My mind is made up." His wife said: "I am proud of him." It was right to be proud of him. He was a brave and good man fighting for humanity.

On Saturday, October 21, 1961, his fine was paid by an unknown person. He had been in prison 11 days and was not grateful to those who paid his fine. But he said, naturally and honestly, from the pulpit, he was glad to be free. Thus spoke a truly honest man who saw both aspects of his imprisonment.

C. E. RATCLIFFE



Word readers in Britain and the United States, and in all parts of the English-speaking Commonwealth, will learn with regret of the death of our stalwart and untiring comrade, C. E. Ratcliffe. His gift for writing verse, humorous, thoughtful, and cheering was well known to readers of this journal. I have some poems from his pen still in hand and will publish these at an early date. He lived up to his ideals of humanism and continued his cheery optimism of expression throughout his last illness. At an early date I shall pay my personal tribute to his memory and also publish tributes from many outstanding Freethought and Humanist comrades with whom he had associated for many years. The passing of C. E. Ratcliffe is a great loss to the Freethought and Socialist movement and the struggle towards human well-being.

The *Clevedon Mercury and Courier* for October 7, 1961, publishes the following brief memoir:

"The death has occurred in a Clevedon nursing home of Mr Charles Edwin Ratcliffe of 'Ormside', Madeira Road, Clevedon, a contributor of poetry to this newspaper for many years.

"A native of Staffordshire, Mr Ratcliffe, who was 92, worked for the Midland Railway in his home county and also Bristol and Avonmouth. On his retirement he and his wife—a Bath lady—loved the West Country so much that they decided to remain here, and in 1937 they moved to Clevedon.

"For many years Mr Ratcliffe was a member of the Clevedon Bowling Club, but he was forced to resign for health reasons.

"He was perhaps best known locally for his poetry, and in addition to the ones we printed, he had two books of poetry published. He also wrote lyrics to popular tunes for youth clubs.

"Cremation took place at Bristol on Tuesday."

This means that Comrade Ratcliffe had local as well as world interests. En route to the establishment of a Socialist society he scattered seeds of goodwill by the wayside, and did all he could to contribute to human happiness and good cheer.

During the last year of his life comrade Ratcliffe sent me an account of his youthful years with the request that I would publish it in *The Word*. This interesting record will appear next month.

The money morality of capitalism produces today's so-called human nature. Under Socialism, human nature will be truly human.—ANON.

GREECE REVISITED 1961

GREEK PRISONERS—By BETTY AMBATIELOS

[Reproduced from *The Daily Worker*, London

Betty Ambatielos and her nephew, Gerasimos Orfanos

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

During her first day in London, after her return from Athens, Betty Ambatielos began her search for people who knew her husband's sterling work for Greek seamen during the Second World War. He was working in Cardiff at the time mostly.

With her was her 13-year-old nephew Gerasimos Orfanos, who met his father—a fellow prisoner of Tony Ambatielos—for the first time when he went with Betty to the Aegina jail.

Betty Ambatielos was hoping that semi-official or even official support for her husband would have some influence with the Greek Minister of Justice and King Paul to secure Tony's release after 14 years from life imprisonment. Her hopes were in vain.

British workers must take up the case.

This was made clear on the night of Saturday, March 18, 1961, Betty was still in Athens paying her tragic visits to Tony. Miss Susan Garth acted as spokeswoman on Betty's behalf. She informed the Press that a number of British M.P.s. waited in London to see the king of Greece at his hotel before he left Britain on the Sunday to return to Greece.

They wanted to plead for Tony's release. Their leader was the Rev. R. W. Sorensen, (Labour, Leyton). They were told that the King could not be disturbed.

(Continued from page 104)

How my heart bled when I embraced another old friend Panayotis Timoyanakis. Formerly an E.C. member of the Tobacco Workers' Union of Greece he was sentenced to death with Tony in 1948. He was released, after thirteen years in prison, because he had cancer of the throat. He has undergone an operation and is now unable to speak. But his eyes are steady and straight and look with deep affection on his wife who is so happy to have him with her again and so afraid that he may leave her forever before she has had time to realise he is in his own home again.

Panayotis was accompanied by his good

friend Koliarakis also sentenced with Tony in 1948 and now free. Free? Even those freed are only released to return to their loved ones with broken health and to know the mental torture of being a financial extra since employment is barred for the former political prisoner. Never shall I forget the desperate sorrow and anguish on the face of Tony Gotsis when he visited me with his little daughter. When he was seized she was a baby of three weeks. Now she is fourteen. "Now you've come," she said to him, "will you buy me a tape recorder? I want some stockings. Will you buy me them? What will we do tonight? Will we go to the cinema?" She thinks I've come from a trip to the States, he said, trying to pass it off as a joke. But I could feel his heart being rent in two by the childish requests of his little girl who cannot understand that he is penniless and who expects the earth now that, at long last, her father has come home.

In my two months in Greece, I spent considerable time visiting political leaders in the hope that something could be achieved with Tony's appeal. I visited the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kallias, three times—accompanied first by a former Liberal Minister of Justice, Mr. Papaspyrou and then by Mr. Iliou, leader of the strongest Opposition Party in Greece, the United Democratic Left (EDA). Yes, he would consider the case carefully. He would even read the dossier of the case which he did not normally do. He would study it at Easter. He had not had time to study it at Easter. Net result: no recommendation yet, one way or the other, from the Minister. I saw Opposition leaders such as the Liberal leader Mr. Sophocles Venizelos; Mr. Markezinis (Right-wing Progressives); Mr. Costopoulos (former Liberal now collaborating with the Grivas Party); and Mr. Tsirimokos (Democratic Union). They, like everyone I met, expressed full sympathy with the appeal and readiness to do what they could. We can only hope that their efforts will help the Minister to make up his mind and recommend to the King that Tony Ambatielos and his colleagues be freed forthwith.

I had hoped when I left for Greece this time that I would see my brother-in-law, Nicos. I was not able to see him when I went in 1956 as he was held, without charge or trial, on the island of Agios Efstratios. He was however released in 1957 and got married to Anna. Their baby son, little Makis, was born in December 1959, just one month after Nicos was seized again. Nicos is still held on the island of Agios Efstratios today with some 250 others, some of whom have been held for up to fifteen years without a break.

With the help of Mr Tsirimokos, leader of the Democratic Union (parallel to Labour Party) I submitted an appeal on March 9th to Mr Kalantzis, the Under-Secretary of the Interior. For six weeks I was chasing up this appeal. I met MPs in Parliament and several made approaches in support of the appeal. Then, after some weeks, I submitted another appeal with a copy of the previous one. I visited the Ministry of the Interior on several occasions with Mr Athanasiades M.P., and Mr Arapis, M.P., the former from the Democratic Union and the latter an Independent.

Finally, we saw Mr Kalantzis himself. His office was crowded with people. A sizeable group of men seeking passports to enable them to join the 18,000 desperate Greeks who, driven by starvation, went to West Germany last year in search of a job. A woman who begged the Minister to give her employment. He turned on her and told her they had no vacancy for a cleaner. Then our turn came. As soon as he saw the M.P.'s name he lolled back and said sarcastically: "We have a fine fellow here. With the Communists one day and hobnobbing with Mr Tsirimokos the next." With great self-possession, Mr Arapis ignored the provocation and informed Mr Kalantzis that he had brought Mrs Ambatielos along to support in person, her appeal for her brother-in-law to be brought to Piraeus to be present at the christening of his two year old son (whom he has never seen). Once the Minister had recovered from the shock of finding me there he stuttered that "In principle I'm in favour of fathers being present at the christening of their babies". Privately the M.P. was given an assurance that Nicos would be brought to Piraeus.

The following Saturday, Anna and little Makis with his grandparents and I went down to the harbour to meet the *Ionion* coming from Agios Efstratios. One by one passengers and political exiles disembarked. There was no Nicos. Happily little Makis did not understand that his father had not come. Anna bit her lip to hide her disappointment. Her father and mother were terribly upset. Bravest of all was 83-year-old Asimina (Tony and Nicos' mother) who took this blow with head held high as she has taken so many more in the past twenty years.

By order of Mr Kalantzis (of July 12, 1960) all visits to Agios Efstratios are banned. Anna is able to visit Tony but she is now unable to visit her husband who is held for no other reason than that he is a political opponent of the Greek Government. His detention, like that of hundreds of others is a flagrant violation of human rights—even of the Greek Constitution. And equally inhuman is the order banning men held without charge or trial from being visited. It is more than high time it was ended. To this end, then women relatives themselves are struggling with great courage. At Easter, two brave women took the boat to Agios Efstratios. When it arrived they were not allowed to land. They appealed to the passengers on board to support them. The passengers soon realised who the women were and, meantime



THE AVEROFF PRISON, ATHENS

time, the political exiles on shore began shouting for the women to be allowed to land. In all the shouting and scuffling, one of the women, Mrs Plapoutas, wife of a well-known trade union leader held on the island, seized a rope hanging over the side of the boat and leapt into the little rowing boat nearby. Soon she was joined by the other woman and her baby. Despite the Camp Officer's orders to the Captain of the boat not to leave till the women had been put back on board, the Captain hastily turned the boat round and left. So the women landed on Agios Efstratios and, after several hours of argument, they were finally allowed to see their exiled husbands.

These were but two of the amazingly brave women I met in Greece. Only a few days previously they had also participated in a lobby of the Minister of Justice by the aged mothers and wives and other relatives of the prisoners. These heroic women, many of them sixty and seventy years of age spontaneously sat down and refused to leave the arcade where the entrance to the Ministry is, when they were told the Minister would "consider the matter". "We have been told that for sixteen years," they shouted. "We want a definite promise that the aged and the sick prisoners will be released now. That the women prisoners will be released. We will not leave." Within seconds masses of armed police arrived and, cornering the white-haired women in the arcade they clouted and beat them up. Never before have I seen so many aged women hobbling along, tears welling into their eyes, their faces and arms and legs bruised and their clothes covered in the dust of the road into which they had been pushed—but absolutely undeterred. "We must do that again," they said. "It's the only way. We have been quiet too long." It is this spirit of the women of Greece which will win freedom for the political prisoners in the end, I thought.

Surely we have all been quiet for too long. The shameful situation in Greece today cries out for the active support of all decent people and a major responsibility rests on the British Government and the British public generally.

The treatment of the Greek Resistance fighters in the post war years will be recorded as one of the blackest pages of the twentieth century. In their battle against the Italian fascist attack in 1940, the Greek troops won what Churchill described as the first Allied victory on land. In the years that followed the glorious Resistance Movement

and army was formed. It displayed feats of heroism in ceaseless struggle against the Nazis who had trampled with their boots on the sacred soil of Greece. The Greek people suffered and sacrificed. In Greece I was given a photograph of the mass grave of the 1,280 Greek patriots who were murdered when the little town of Kalavryta was rased to the ground by the Nazis. On the road to Delphi I visited Distomo and paid my humble homage to the 400 whose names are recorded on the wall of the Church. They were the four hundred men from Distomo massacred in revenge by the Nazis in one day. The Resistance Movement fought on and it fought in collaboration with the Middle East Command.

Here is the message sent on July 18, 1943, by F.M. Maitland Wilson, C in C of the Middle East HQ, to the HQ of the Resistance Army, ELAS:

"I wish to convey to all ranks of the Andartes Army of Greece my sincere thanks and congratulations on their recent successes throughout the whole of Greece. These operations, carefully prepared beforehand by us and carried out with great accuracy by you, contributed towards the success of our Allied forces in Sicily. . . . All praise to the Andartes."

Where are the men today who participated in these operations? Some 500 have already died in the Greek prisons.

One of these was Fotis Mastrocostas, who participated in one of the operations referred to in Maitland Wilson's message, namely the blowing up of the Gorgopotamos Bridge in November 1942, an operation vital to Allied Strategy and specially requested by the Middle East HQ.

Had Mastrocostas been in France (let alone in the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe) he would have been hailed as a hero after the war, crowned with laurels and, furthermore, given a pension. In Greece, he was thrown into prison and, after sixteen years' incarceration, he died early in 1961 as the result of years of under-nourishment.

"Brave warriors. I am proud to be the liaison acting with you on behalf of F.H. Maitland Wilson," wrote British Brigadier Eddy to the Resistance Army ELAS on December 28, 1943. He fought side by side with Mastrocostas against the Nazis in Greece. He was the leader of the British Military Mission. It is too late to save Mastrocostas but could he not raise a voice to save others who still live.

(To be continued)

TRIAL IN GREECE

The capitalist press in Britain and the U.S.A. often refers to Greece as one of the great democratic nations. Its Premier has been received in Britain by the British Prime Minister and Cabinet with honours. Greece is part of the bloc against Soviet dictatorship. Actually, of course, it is a Fascist State.

In July 1959, the trial took place in Athens, before a military tribunal, of E. Vucas, for being a member of the illegal Communist Party of Greece. A tall, athletic man stood before a Military Tribunal, and was sentenced to life imprisonment to be served in one of Greece's notorious political prisons, for being an avowed Communist.

Personally, I do not agree with the Communist Party, precisely because I am a Communist. But I honour Vucas for his stand and his defiance, although I wish he had defended himself instead of relying on counsel. I think Socialists and Communists should defend themselves on trial. This is my opinion and it has been my practice. My strong views in this matter must not be regarded as censure of a very brave man, whom I call "Comrade" precisely because of his defiance of the capitalist military court.

Although defended by lawyers, Vucas also addressed the Court.

The prosecutor had demanded the death penalty for Vucas, and his comrade Trakainos, who were charged with espionage along with Manolis Glezos, hero of the Greek resistance against the Nazis.

The following is an abbreviated account of Vucas' courageous address to the court:

Vucas: I categorically deny the accusation that the Communist Party is a party of espionage . . .

President (Rings the bell, rises and declares): I forbid you to speak of the Communist Party.

Ilnu (Lawyer for Vucas and a left-wing Member of Parliament): Political police spoke here for two hours against the Communist Party. You charge the party with espionage, therefore it has a right to defend itself.

President: I repeat once more that I forbid him to speak about the Communist Party.

(The defence lawyers, amid the acclaim of the people who filled the courtroom, pursued the attack upon the president's ruling so successfully that an intermission was ordered, following which Vucas again began to speak.)

Vucas: I reject the flimsy charge that the Communist Party of Greece is a so-called party of spies and traitors or that its members engage in spying. I shall by my evidence annihilate these slanderous accusations . . .

President: Speak about the charges against yourself.

Vucas: My party, the Communist Party of Greece, is a patriotic party, a people's party, a party which fights for the people's interests. In speaking the truth about my party I at the same time defend myself. And when I prove that the C.P. of Greece is not a party of spies, I also prove that I am not a spy. (Here Vucas denounced the 1936 law under which the military tribunal heard the charges against Glezos and the others.) This law was spawned by Metaxas (the former Greek dictator) under extraordinary military conditions and was never invoked even by Metaxas himself.

President: People are also sentenced to death for espionage and treachery in Communist countries.

Vucas: Yes, they are tried, but on the basis of concrete facts. You accuse the C.P. of Greece of espionage and you accuse me also, but you haven't a shred of evidence. The C.P. of Greece is a great party, a party of one class, the working class, the people who labour. It expresses the convictions of a large part of the Greek people. Such a great party, conducting activity throughout the country, cannot be identified with a secret group of spies. When, in 1940, Mussolini sent Greece an ultimatum, the Communists were the first to wage war for the independence of Greece. They displayed heroism and proved their patriotism.

(Here one of the defence lawyers showed a photograph of Vucas as a volunteer in the Greek anti-fascist army. Vucas described to the court the civil war in Greece when the C.P. fought for a free, democratic and independent Greece.)

Vucas: Now we want to work as a legal party, but the government is afraid of that. It cannot solve the urgent problems of the people and it will not allow my party to work legally because we struggle for the people's needs. The reactionary forces cannot fight our party with legal weapons, therefore they outlaw us. We are compelled to work underground. We haven't legal means such as the radio and newspapers to explain our party's policies. Therefore our party is compelled to utilize means which you call espionage. Our party has organized its apparatus to publish legal newspapers, leaflets and other materials in order to explain our policies. The government will not allow the Communist Party to live freely, because it is afraid of my party's ideology.

I returned to Greece to carry out the policy of my party as decided upon at the sixth and seventh plenary sessions of our Central Committee, to work for the realization of those decisions and to fight for the legality of my party. We demand the independence of Greece, a policy of peace and co-operation with our neighbours.

President: Don't you see differences between Greece's neighbours?

Vucas: We stand for friendly relationships with all our neighbours. We are for the proposal of the Rumanian prime minister—to call a conference of the leaders of the Balkan states, for an atom-free zone in the Balkans and for the peaceful co-existence of the Balkan countries.

I personally expressed a desire to return to Greece in order to carry out my party's policy. I consider that my patriotic duty.

I hurl back the accusation that I studied in an espionage school. There are no espionage schools in the socialist countries. There are universities and we studied in them. (Vucas here described the circumstances of his arrest.) They offered me inducements if only I would become an accomplice of the police. When I rejected all such proposals they declared to me: We shall murder you in any case!

The present trial has a clearly political character, and that is to slander the Communist Party of Greece. But this attempt will not harm my party's enormous authority among the people. My party is a reality, a factor in the development of Greek political life.

We are patriots, not in words, but in deeds. When my accusers were accomplices of the fascist police, I fought as a soldier against fascism.

As far as I am concerned, I am a member of the Communist Party of Greece and proud of it. I once more reject the charge of espionage.

I am a member of the Communist Party of Greece and I am ready to die for my party.

FACTS FROM U.S.A. By LOUISE HARDING HERR

Brisbane, Calif.,
September 14, 1961

HOW ABOUT THOSE WESTERN RIGHTS TO ENTER BERLIN?

Dr. Frederick L. Schuman writes, in his *Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad* (p.552), that at Potsdam, June 5, 1945, it was agreed to effect "complete disarmament and demilitarization and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production", also to "destroy the Nazi Party and its affiliates" and prevent "all Nazi and militarist activity or propaganda".

Prohibited was all German manufacturing of arms, munitions, aircraft and sea-going ships.

Since Washington now claims it was impossible to carry these provisions into effect because of Russian bad faith, it is all-important to remember that when James Stewart Martin was sent to Germany, February 1945, to accomplish this, he found on arriving in London, Col. Graeme K. Howard esconced there as Director of the Economics Division. Howard had written (1940) an apology for the Nazi economic system called *America and a New World Order*. Complaint being made about Howard, his place was taken by General William H. Draper, Jr., on military leave from his job as secretary-treasurer of Dillon Reed & Co. (the main firm to float German bonds after World War I, enabling Germany to rearm).

After a severe struggle, Martin and his co-workers found themselves completely defeated in their efforts to compel obedience to the orders of the State Department. Gen. Clay slammed his fist on the table, March 17, 1948, and many were compelled to resign, (others cut off), because work conditions had been laid down which made their task impossible. Clay had approved a memo. of Richardson Bronson exempting from reorganization all enterprises in the field of capital goods and heavy industries.

Congress did some investigating. Clay resigned, later being named a director of Herbert Lehman's investment bank.

Said Martin, "After two and a half years, I came back from Germany quite well aware that I had been wrestling with a buzz-saw. We had not been stopped in Germany by German business. *We had been stopped in Germany by American business.*" (Italics added.)

May 1, 1946, the splendid investigator, Howard W. Ambruster tells us, in his *Treason's Peace*, p. 408, that former Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau broadcast a denunciation of the State Department policies on elimination of Germany's war potential which included this:

"We have failed to de-industrialize Germany. . . . If it is Mr Byrnes' intention to scrap the Potsdam past and allow Germany to remain industrially powerful, then I prophesy that we are simply repeating the fatal mistakes of Versailles, and laying the foundation for World War III."

Whatever agreement was made concerning access to West Berlin by the Allies is thus seen to have been founded on conditions that have not been carried out by them. Furthermore, it seems to have been ambiguous. *The Forrestal Diaries* (451-2) has this:

"25 June 1948. *Berlin Occupational Agreement*. . . Lovett (sic. the context suggests

that it should be Royall) stated that in the records of the War Department there were certain dispatches which indicated there had been an exchange of messages between Stalin and Roosevelt in connection with the four-power occupation of Berlin. He said there was an indication there had been a message from Hopkins to Roosevelt recommending Russian occupation of Berlin (sometime in 1944), provided that the United States had free access to that area. *It is believed* (my emphasis) there followed an exchange of messages between Stalin and Roosevelt in which Stalin agreed, in principle, to the stipulation that the United States should have complete right of persons and goods into the Berlin area; that Stalin replied to this message with one of his own, stating that he agreed in principle but that the terms would be worked out by the Russian. American and British commanders in the field. Apparently this was never done, although it is General Parks' recollection (presumably Major-Gen. Floyd I. Parks, chief of the Public Information Division of the Army Special Staff, who in 1945 had been the first commander of the American military sector in Berlin) that in conversation between Eisenhower and the Russians there was a clear verbal agreement in the sense of the above."

In the foregoing, when access to the "United States" is stipulated, does that refer to the Army and its personnel and goods, or does it apply also to civilians and their chattels? (At the time, only the Army was at hand.)

September 2, 1961, *San Francisco Chronicle* said that the State Department the day before made public "for the first time in 1947, Soviet document in which it said Russia formally conceded Allied rights for civilian air travel in Berlin. The document, dated February 5, 1947, was a Soviet report to the U.S., British, French and Russian foreign ministers. . . . The document said: 'A decision was taken after *quadri partite* agreement had been reached. To allot three air corridors for unrestricted flights by Allied aircraft over the Soviet Zone of occupation in Germany'."

September 4, the *Chronicle* published this reply from Moscow:

"No four-power decisions exist on 'uncontrolled commercial air transport over the air corridors' or on the use of those aerial facilities by Germans outside the service of the occupation authorities, the Soviet Government declared."

Washington then promised to publish the entire document in proof of its contention. I have not seen any such publication; and believe, if such proof existed, that in the ultra-hazardous situation over Berlin, it would have been shown to the world years before. Can that be doubted by anyone?

For while men are gazing up to heaven, imagining after a happiness, or fearing a hell after they are dead, their eyes are put out, that they see not what is done to them here on earth while they are living.

—GERRARD WINSTANLEY (1651)

Our money has poured into some nations in such quantities that plunder has been the accepted way of doing business with us.

—WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court.

If we would be guided by the light of reason, we must let our minds be bold.

—BRANDEIS

Money is like manure, of very little use except it be spread.—BACON

EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK

ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON

Readers will learn with deep regret of the death of our comrade and contributor, Archibald Robertson, the distinguished writer on religion and philosophy. He died at Oxford on Saturday, October 14. Comrade Robertson was 75. He had been suffering from his heart, and had eased down his London activity because doctors warned him not to travel.

Son of a bishop of Exeter, he had a distinguished career at Oxford and passed into the higher ranks of Civil Service (Admiralty) where he remained until he retired. He joined the Communist Party in 1938 after a visit to the Soviet Union, when he became acquainted on the boat with the late Harry Pollitt. He was a Socialist, a former member of the old Social Democratic Federation, and an active propagandist. As readers know he was well acquainted with many of the old Social Democratic and Freethought pioneers mentioned in my *No Traitor's Gait*.

Robertson was well known as a lecturer and writer on religion and philosophy, and was often heard at the South Place Ethical Society. He was a director of the Rationalist Press Association and a frequent contributor to its journal *The Humanist*. He wrote several books for the association, including *The Bible and Its Background*, in two volumes, and *The Reformation*. His most important book, *The Origins of Christianity*, published by Lawrence and Wishart, was translated into Russian and is extremely popular in the Soviet Union. His work was both profound and simply written, and his articles in the *Daily Worker* were always popular. He succeeded brilliantly in applying Marxism to the history and criticism of religion.

During the last three years of his life he sent me copies of his various writings and noted certain essays that he wished me to reprint in *The Word*. This I will do. He thought that I stood widely apart from the rest of the movement and held that now that Stalin's errors and repression had been recognised, in view of my deep sympathy with Khrushchov in his stand for world peace and bold and fearless propaganda, I ought to be more active on a common platform with members of the Communist Party. A very heavy private correspondence on this subject passed between us and his desire was that it should be published.

Robertson joined the S.D.F. about the time that I left that organisation. He wrote regularly for *Justice* under the nom de plume of "Robert Arch".

The *Worthing Gazette* for Wednesday, October 19, 1960, published an interesting account of the career of our comrade, Captain C.E. Cookson, C.M.G., under the heading:

BACK FROM FAR EAST

The report states:

"This week I had a chat with one of the sprightliest octogenarians I have ever met, Captain Claude Cookson, of West Street, Sompting.

"The remarkable captain, at the age of 82, returned home last week after a three-week holiday in China, where he and his wife travelled 3,000 miles by road.

"The trip cost them £600 each. 'It was worth it,' said Captain Cookson.

"We have always wanted to see China. I am a member of the Britain and China Friendship Association."

"The couple flew by jet plane from London Airport to Peking (via Moscow) and among

the places they visited were Nanking, Shanghai, Hangshow, Canton and Wuhan.

"We also visited several new towns," said Captain Cookson. "We were allowed to go anywhere we liked and we were met with great friendliness and good manners."

"The couple were impressed by the progress China has made. 'It has to be seen to be believed,' said the captain, who told me that one of the highlights of his trip was a visit to the Great Wall, which the Communists have found time to restore.

"Captain Cookson joined the Army in 1899, serving in India, Africa, Gibraltar and Bermuda, and went into the Colonial Service in 1910.

"He served in various parts of Africa and for a time was acting governor of Sierra Leone. He retired in 1934 and went to live in Somerset, moving to Sompting in 1947.

"When he is not busy writing letters to the Press about something or other—'My principal aim is to help bring about international understanding,' he said—Captain Cookson likes to travel."

Captain Cookson explains how he became a soldier. As an Eton scholar (1891-97) he disappointed his tutor and his family by joining the Army—"to see life", as advised by an old Crimean veteran for whom he had a great liking. Posted to India (Multan) in August 1899—at his own request—he missed the South African War—by accident, not by design. Thereafter his fondness for games and travel sustained him, although he never got on with senior officers. Eventually he resigned in 1910.

"I do not regret having 'seen life' in foreign lands," he says.

"But I am glad to have never taken part in a 'bloody battle' with my fellow men."

A similar view has been expressed by our American comrade, Brigadier General Herbert C. Holdridge.

A BISHOP'S VIEWS

Last month I drew attention to the message of approval sent by the Catholic Archbishop, T. D. Roberts, of the Society of Jesus, to the Committee of 100 in connection with anti-nuclear demonstrations at the Holy Loch. This month I quote the views expressed by Dr Cuthbert Bardsley, Bishop of Coventry.

Speaking on October 4, 1961, at the United Nations Associations annual service at St. Margaret's, Church, Westminster, Dr Bardsley said that he did not share the view that there was no good in Communism.

"Communism is a heresy of Christianity in the sense that it takes one aspect of Christianity and develops it to the exclusion of everything else. But nevertheless, it is a challenge to all of us who profess and call ourselves Christian.

"Instead of hating, fearing, and distrusting Communism and Communists we should attempt to discover what God is saying to us through them.

"We should not be afraid to meet Communists. Rather should we meet them with humility and the willingness together to seek the truth.

"I was encouraged to see only a few days ago that no less a person than Senator Fulbright of America had the courage to say that the West is by no means blameless in relation to the Berlin situation."

Dr Bardsley then cited samples of divorce, illegitimacy, and bingo as condemnation of the ethics of Christian society. I must say that, except for the parade of false marriage

declarations, I see nothing necessarily wrong in divorce when two people living together continue in a wedlock of hate and misery. It is the hypocrisy that is immoral. It is the same with illegitimacy. I believe that a woman has a right to be a mother without having to change her name, and engage in the rest of the nonsense and parade, mostly mockery, of class and property society. I do not believe in male society. But the Bishop's protest is sound because the people who believe in marriage ought not to engage in sexual intercourse before or outside of State or Church matng. If they feel they must so indulge then their desire condemns the convention or creed in which they affect to believe. Again, we are faced with a ritual hypocrisy. As to bingo, one cannot maintain that bingo is an expression of idealism or vision.

Concerning Christians who practise or condone such conduct, the bishop asked:

"What answer has such a nation of anemic nominal Christians got to a nation of passionate, atheistic revolutionaries?"

STALIN FILM

Little attention seems to have been paid to the important Soviet film shown at the Edinburgh Festival on August 28, 1961.

The film was called *The Clear Sky*. Molly Plowright, in the *Glasgow Herald*, described it as the story of a gallant pilot who was taken prisoner by the Nazis during the war after shooting down a Nazi aircraft: wounded but unbowed he effects his escape, only to be recaptured. When he returns home at the end of the war he finds he is suspect because he allowed himself to be taken prisoner—far worse, his party membership is taken from him.

A gigantic statue of Stalin, looming over the committee meeting at which the poor young man is rejected, gives those of us versed in cinema methods a pretty shrewd idea as to who is to blame. So when some one rushes in and announces in stunned tones, "Stalin is dead," it is no surprise that the next sequence depicts winter giving way to spring, ice melting in the rivers, machines working at double the speed, warm sunshine and balmy air.

The young man? He gets a medal and a fine new job flying jets.

But setting aside any political implications there is much charm in the film. The pilot's love affair with a very young girl is depicted with wonderful tenderness, and there is a brilliantly edited passage in which a troop train thunders through a station without stopping, although the men's relatives have gathered at the track to meet them; the agonising disappointment touches the heart.

The Russians also made a documentary to mark the Burns bicentenary, with the co-operation of the Scottish-U.S.S.R. Society; straightforward biography, pretty to watch.

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Central Halls, 25 Bath Street, Glasgow

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1961

Speaker: GUY ALDRED

Subject: LOOKING BACK

Doors open: 6.30

Chair taken 7 p.m.

RATIONALIST PRESS ASSOCIATION
Sunday, Nov. 5, at 3 pm. Mr Jas. McDougal
Speaks on *Ideology and Society* CENTRAL
HALLS, 25 Bath Street, Glasgow.

MORE STOCKTAKING

Please to Remember
The Fifth of November
—GUY FAWKES BALLAD



CHARLES WILLIAM HOLDSWORTH

Author's maternal grandfather, who encouraged every phase of radical thought, although he was a life member of the Church of England.

Charles Holdsworth was a strong opponent of war. He belonged to no party or radical sect, but introduced the editor to atheist and anarchist literature and told him that thought must be followed and served truthfully, no matter what were the consequences.

All Truth is safe and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back the truth, or withholds it from men, from motives of expediency, is either a coward or a criminal, or both.—MAX MULLER.

I shall continue to be an impossible person so long as those who are now possible remain possible.

—MICHAEL BAKUNIN to Ogarev, June 14, 1868

'Tis not in mortals to commend success, but we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it.—SHAKESPEARE.

On Sunday, November 5, 1961, I shall celebrate my seventy-fifth birthday. It will be a mild event and I do not think that the word "celebrate" is the right word to use. I am in no mood to celebrate. At night I shall hope to see many comrades at the U.S.M. meeting in the Central Halls, Bath Street, at 7 p.m., to discuss the latest aspect of the terrible crisis that has menaced civilization since the conclusion of the Second World War. Statesmen, politicians, and hired journalists recruited youth to slaughter on the plea that the war was fought to make the world safe for democracy. The First World War was fought to end war. The result is that we have neither democracy nor the end of the war menace. Merely, preparation inspired by Wall Street and the White House, Washington, and the ex-Nazis at Bonn, to intensify war into a Nuclear Armageddon.

Looking back over old volumes of *The Word* I find that in some previous years I have recalled my past in other November issues. Richard Carlile once said that it was a pleasure to write about himself because no man could do it better than he could. In a sense this is true, especially if a man has

nothing to hide. I have nothing to hide and I view my life as a challenge. I would not say that, although there must be facts known only to myself, that at all points I am the best man to tell the story. Since no one else has volunteered to tell it, and I wish to have it told, I am thrown back on myself for recording the necessary biographical data.

A birthday musing is not the time nor place for writing biography. On one's birthday one peeps back into the past and remembers. And I do remember—I remember all the time. I find solace for life's struggle and sorrow if not happiness in remembering. And the fighting spirit is conjured up and the battle is continued. The struggle is life. Since, by an error of judgment and desire, my mother and father thrust me into existence; and since I have not the courage to commit suicide, I must struggle. I may not do it cheerily but I will do it with determination and energy. I am here and must live to some purpose.

Last year I described myself as "*The Rejected Stone*". This was true enough. I referred to my Boy Preacher days in Holloway in 1902, and my walkings through North London. I described my very serious studies of Church history. At fifteen I had read three different translations of Mosheim (1694-1755) and found the traversies and liberties taken by the three translators lamentable. I discussed the matter with my grandfather, Charles William Holdsworth and he advised me to read Conyers Middleton (1683-1750). As I have pointed out in *The Word*, in my *Dogmas Discarded*, and *No Traitor's Gait*, my grandfather was a very unpretentious and non-selfseeking book-binder to trade. He was a really great man. To the end of my life I shall be in his debt for the development of my mind. I am



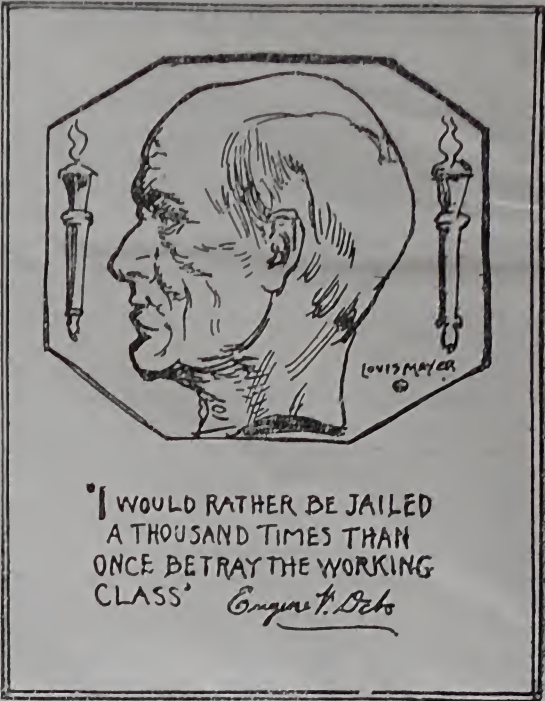
SUN YAT SEN

(November 12, 1866 — March 12, 1956)

thinking of him now and shall refer to him again in this Musing.

In my boy-preaching walks through North London the idea grew on me that I was a neglected cornerstone. My subsequent experience has convinced me of the fact. There were about five Boy Preachers roaming round England and Wales at that time. I believe that I am the only one that has stood the test of time. Throughout my life, as Christian, Freethinker, Socialist, Communist and Anarchist, I have been the rejected corner-stone. There is overwhelming evidence of that fact.

My tendency to heresy was encouraged—quietly, determinedly, and oh! so secretly—by my grandfather. My heresy is an evidence of an uncompromising and living belief in



EUGENE V. DEBS
(Born November 5, 1855)

The Word and in the power of *The Word*. I felt that my orthodox associates were devoid of vision. I still feel that, which is why I despise their methods of organisation. As Solomon averred, *Where there is no vision the people perish, but he who keepeth the law is happy*. In one sense, despite sorrow, I have been happy.

In *Reynolds News* for October 8, 1948, the late Ian More depicted me as a "*connoisseur of gaols*" and said that when other folk could look back in their leisure hours to places they have seen, I could vary the thoughts a bit to the gaols I had "*visited*". One could not call these sojourns "*visits*" however. They were too prolonged for visits.

More went on to describe my incarcerations in Devizes, Wandsworth, Wormwood Scrubbs, Winchester, Brixton, Duke Street, Barlinnie, the Calton.

This was a very friendly tribute. But the movement has not been friendly always in its references to my long and constant struggle.

When I was a boy the fact that I was born on Guy Fawkes day influenced my mind. The day is for ever famous as the date of the attempted destruction of Parliament. My grandfather spent what spare cash he could muster from the household budget in buying very cheap and somewhat shabby looking cloth-bound classics. These covered a wide field of literature, history, fiction, poetry, biography, geography, and letters. They cost only fourpence-halfpenny a volume new. My grandfather had a chest of drawers covered with them and he read them to the family on Sunday afternoons and to himself during the week. I think my grandmother felt that he was a bit of a bore but drowsed happily through his reading. He had only one vice—he took snuff. His actual radical books he kept secretly stocked in a cupboard in the wall, on a floor near the window. There is a similar cupboard in the house in which I live in Balliol Street. This causes me to think often of the Farringdon Road days and my grandfather.

Once one has decided to be born, before passing from the pre-natal stage it is very necessary to select the right parentage. This is somewhat difficult as the mind has not organised itself before birth, and there is a sad lack of experience. Then one should select the right month and day. I mixed things a little. The month and day were quite good from the viewpoint of historical

inspiration. On my father's side my choice was not so good. By some strange fluke he was persuaded to marry my mother only a few weeks before I was born; and he left her to care for me as well as for herself, and to register my birth. He was a person totally devoid of character.

Despite her deviation from the straight path, my mother was orthodox because she never thought. She was a conventional person but still a creature of impulse. She only quarrelled with me once, totally without reason, and that upset completely the routine of our existence. Otherwise she was most patient and considerate. Being orthodox she would have resented my name being Holdsworth instead of Aldred. I would have had no objection to this for I do not believe in male society; and I do not accept the conventional distinction between legitimate and illegitimate births. Still, as it happened, at a later date the fact that I was registered as Aldred and not as Holdsworth made a great difference to the course of my career.

I made a great choice of birth when I selected my mother for a parent, for it gave me the active parentage, love and devotion of her father. Looking back, I sense the tremendous debt I owe my maternal grandfather. Down the years, in all that I have thought, said, and done I have felt as though I were living his life.

My grandfather was a radical in ideas but a conservative in behaviour. He worked at Orrin & Geers, the book-binding premises at the corner of Farringdon Road and Bowling Green Lane, for fifty years, at the same bench. We could see him from the tenement window. He went to the same church, in Gresham Street, St. Anne and St. Agnes, Sunday morning and Sunday evening, for about sixty years. In his later days I knew that he did not believe and on more than one occasion he expressed his views. At his his sister's funeral he avowed that he did not believe in the future life.

I attended this Church as a boy and was confirmed at St. Paul's Cathedral. This was about the time that my grandfather started taking me to pro-Boer meetings and giving me various kinds of very old anti-war booklets. He converted me to Pacifism. After Confirmation I lost the desire to go to Church. He upheld my decision against my grandmother and my mother. He never imposed his ideas but encouraged me in my own development. He lent me, at each point of my growth, radical and heretical literature that suited my stage of development. When I became a Theist he discussed Theism and Deism with me, told me about Atheism, and said that I could not stop at Theism. Before going to work he went the messages every morning so that I might study. He made the breakfast every morning in the week right up my grandmother's last illness, and he made a special breakfast on Sunday. He did not seek riches but what money he earned, and he worked hard, he gave loyally to the home. In those days, headbanding was a feature of binding, and my grandmother did headbanding at home on a special machine. My grandfather brought this work home.

He was a well-built man, but not fat. And he was about five foot ten inches tall. My grandmother was slight and was five foot tall. It was strange how she rebuked him constantly and insisted that she had married beneath her. Some years after the passing of my grandfather I discovered, by accidental research, that this statement was false. If my grandfather knew this he never answered a word.

I became a Boy Preacher on November 10, 1902, and delivered my first sermon in the Gospel Hall, Holloway, North London. The subject was: *Service: The Law of Christ*. Since then, except when imprisoned, I have never left the the public platform, but de-

veloped as a thinker and agitator continuously. My present ideas and activity flow naturally from the views I advanced as a Boy Preacher.

Some of the family, on my grandfather's side, were priests of the Anglican Church. He also included a few rabbis among his relatives. He was half-Jewish. But I thought that the priesthood was wrong and not the true work of a Christian missionary and preacher.

As I grew up and became a Socialist, the importance of November as a month, and the fifth as a day took on another aspect. On November 5, 1855, Debs, the great American Socialist and prison martyr of the class struggle was born. That was thirty-one years before my birth. In 1912, Debs resented very much my criticism of him for supporting Madero in Mexico and being opposed to the much imprisoned Magon brothers and the bold Mexican-Indian Communist and Anarchist, Zapeta. Debs was very bitter but I think that he was hurt by my criticism because his desire was to serve the cause of the workers and peasants and he was misled by his opposition to Diaz, the dictator, and so exaggerated the worth of Madero. Later, of course, Debs' fearless stand against war, and his unquestioned loyalty to the struggle of the workers in the United States earned my respect.

Debs does not rank as a sound Socialist thinker. He believed in the class struggle. He wanted a Socialist Society. And he refused to compromise his views or his expression of them. Debs being born on November 5 increased the importance of the date to me in later years.

November itself became of importance to me as the month of the Chicago Martyrs. I was a year old when they went to their doom.

November had several days that inspired me for one reason or another as I played my part in the workers struggle. When Sir Walter Strickland became my friend he wrote me many letters about Sun Yat Sen and prophesied that his agitation would bring about a Communist Republic in China. Sun Yat Sen was born at the village of Tsuiheng, thirty miles south of Canton, on November 12, 1866. After much exile and danger and tireless propaganda, he inspired the Chinese people to overthrow the feudal monarchy in 1911. Sun Yat Sen became the first president of the Chinese Republic.

Baronet
Who Pioneered
Indian Independence
□□□
Lord Curzon
Withdrew His
Passport and Made
Him a Man
Without a Country



The Indian situation brings into the news the late Sir Walter Strickland, Bt., B.A. Strickland advocated an Indian Federal Republic as long ago as 1902. These views made him contact Guy Aldred in 1909.

Strickland's writings were banned in India and his British passport was taken from him. He repudiated his title and spent his last years striving to solve the problem of war. His last letter, addressed to men of science, is published in "This March of Homicide".

Above we reproduce the last portrait taken of Sir Walter Strickland in Europe. This was taken in Prague, in 1930, before Strickland left Europe.

Durroti, the famous revolutionary leader of the people in Barcelona against the Franco tyranny and usurpation of power, was assassinated in November 1936. This man's dedication to the struggle was an inspiration to his own and all future generations. He had a genius for freedom.

On November 30, 1923, John MacLean, the great Glasgow Socialist, one-time Social Democrat who became a martyr and direct actionist rather than a politician, died in the poverty that defines the status of the working class leader. What Jesus said could apply to MacLean: *The Son of Man has not where to lay his head*.

Guy Fawkes was born in York of proletarian parents in 1570. In his youth he became a Catholic and entered into a plot to blow up both Houses of Parliament on November 5, 1605. He was tortured but showed great bravery and loyalty to his fellow conspirators. He was hanged on January 31, 1606. Unlike his torturers and executioners, he has become immortal. At least he left a tradition of courage.

Many respectable and very mediocre people have been born on November 5th in some year or other before and since the times of Guy Fawkes. Some are walking around now. But their names stand for nothing and they will never live in history. They just happened. I am not of their kidney. Why?

I attribute much of the fact to my grandfather.

I consider the tenement in which I was born, 24 Corporation Buildings, not only a home but also a great educational centre. It was a college the like of which could be found in no boarding school, college or university. I recall vividly my memory of my grandfather and my boyhood home now that I am nearing the age at which he tidied up his bench tramped round the city of London, and went home to his room in his daughter's house, also in London, to commit suicide. His wife had died. His home had gone. Illness was upon him. And he felt himself a wanderer against his will. This birthday I look back and muse over our relationship.

There is no doubt that he encouraged me to develop the habit of thought; he condoned and fostered my tendency towards heresy. He taught me, not in so many words, but by the very bearing of his character, the importance of integrity in word and deed.

He showed me that there was strength in calmness under crisis. All this he did in secret, unknown to my grandmother or to my mother, of whom he seemed to be a mite afraid; except when some stern question of principle and humanity arose. There are anecdotes in connection with his association that I intend to recall.

Viewing life's events, I can see how my mind unfolded; how scholarship was acquired, and why, despite stupid comments to the contrary from stupid opponents, I have pursued one consistent course uncompromisingly throughout my life. My grandfather was responsible for this mental development. He could not know it, but because life is one thing after another, and the second event arises from the first, his influence was responsible not only for my war resistance and political struggles. Due to his effect on my mind as I progressed through life, I became associated with the Rev. Charles Voysey, founder of the Theistic Church: "Saladin" (W. Stewart Ross), Editor of the *Agnostic Journal*; Malatesta, the disciple, shall I say, of Bakunin; Sir Walter Strickland Bt., B.A. who discarded his title and was denied his passport: the pacifist twelfth Duke of Bedford, who, at the end of his life was speaking in defence of China, defending the Red Dean in the House of Lords, fearlessly attacking all nuclear war preparation and bombing; and my colleague, Louise Harding Horr, of San Francisco. It is a strange story, rich in anecdote and incident; but it is a logical sequence of events.

As I pointed out in a previous birthday stocktaking; I have spent the following birthdays in prison:

| | | |
|------|-------|-----------------|
| 1909 | | Brixton |
| 1916 | | Wandsworth |
| 1917 | | Wormwood Scrubs |
| 1918 | | Brixton |
| 1919 | | Wandsworth |
| 1921 | | Barlinnie |

I knew that in each case my grandfather's influence was at work. Also in my life-long total abstinence and personal refusal to engage in the nicotine habit.

My grandfather bestowed on me no money. He was a working man, a bookbinder, and he had none to bestow. But he impressed on me the need for character, for humour, for a kindly personal view of life whilst hating all that was established on wrong principle; for consistency, tested by the logic of experience. He has no place in history but he was a great man. The people of Clerkenwell were unaware of his greatness. I feel it inspiring me now, and I propose to make known my recollections.

It is hard to describe relations with my grandfather. He was a very easy man to please, and he never rebuked any of us. Yet quietly he went his way. Every morning he cleaned my shoes because he thought "the boy should study". His explanation to the family: "The boy will repay later on to the next generation". To me he said: "Remember me when I am under the sod; and serve others".

He took his share of household duties before, between, and after his hard work at the bench. He suffered from a painful rupture but never complained. His patience was tremendous. His wife and two daughters had no sympathy with ideas. He accepted the fact with a smile, and in genial silence. He adapted himself to their gossip and made life happy.

He had a family of four daughters. As I knew the household, the eldest was widowed and worked as a cook-housekeeper. The third daughter was married, lived at Edmonton, and had a large family. Later she moved to Putney, and then back again to Edmonton. I think this moving was "moonlighting" as we termed it.

She called her family her "cross". My mother, the second daughter, went out to work but lived with her parents until her bigamous marriage. Then she lived nearby, and I had two homes.

The youngest daughter stayed at home. She refused to go to work, as she had refused to go to school. She was very tall and stately-looking but thoroughly ignorant. My grandfather believed that girls merited the same education as boys, and paid a small sum for the education of his daughters.

The money spent on his youngest daughter, Charlotte, was wasted. In the end she educated herself to some extent. I completed the education so that she could read and write. Actually she made a success of her life in a worldly sense. She discarded a working-engineer lover after a few years' courting and married a shopkeeper. I believe he died and she was left with a string of shops. She sold each in turn at a good price. Where ignorance is bliss — !

In the room where my grandfather kept his secret locker and read to the family on Sunday afternoons, the outstanding feature was a very large oil-painting of Gladstone. This was magnificently framed in the Victorian fashion. My grandfather selected the picture, and my grandmother the frame. Both were happy at the result. I liked the picture, but not the frame.

To my grandfather Gladstone was a great man. Later, Walter Strickland wrote long letters to me, describing Gladstone as "a great fraud". He developed this view in a book he wrote describing Gladstone's work among prostitutes but attacking his motives. I had no interest in the theme. Strickland published this work in Germany and it was seized by the Home Office. I know the contents but never saw the book. It strongly denounced Gladstone's "rescue work" — of which he is said to have made 10 Downing Street the centre — as "fakery".

(To be concluded)

TO OUR READERS

Since I am 75 on November 5th I do not feel that it is out of place to make this birthday appeal to readers.

I have been continuously active on the public platform and in the Press since November 10, 1902. That is fifty-nine years. I have been a Freethought propagandist since 1904; and I have been an avowed Socialist since 1905. I have not allowed poverty to turn me aside from my purpose. I have suffered eight years imprisonment out of ten years to which in all I have been sentenced for my political and anti-militarist views and agitation. *I am not retiring from the conflict like some M.P.* I am continuing my agitation with the same vigour as in my youth.

At the moment I am being thrown out of my printing premises as readers know. I have to get new premises. I have to buy some new machinery. I am still in debt but not excessively, considering my work and struggle. But my work will go under unless I can command your immediate support. Do not let this happen!

I ask every reader to make a special effort to send me the wherewithal of continuing my work. Help me to continue. This is the birthday request I make. I think my life-long struggle merits your enthusiastic support. What say you? Remember November 5.

In order to be able to venture to utter great truths, one must not be dependent upon success.—JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

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BOMB PROTEST

Earl (Bertrand) Russell, the Rev. Michael Scott, and other representatives of the Committee of 100 on Tuesday, October 25, 1961, visited the Soviet Embassy in London, and handed in the following message:

"We are protesting today against the explosion by the Soviet Union of the most powerful nuclear weapon ever tested, just as we have protested against the part played by our own Government and the U.S. in the nuclear arms race.

"This disastrous competition, if persisted in, can only end in extermination of both sides—for it must be clear to everybody there is now no way one side can defeat the other without being defeated itself."

This message certainly establishes the Humanist sincerity of the Committee of 100. I sympathise entirely with protests against the manufacturing, hoarding, and use of the bomb by each and every nation. The capitalist press and politicians of Britain and the U.S.A. will applaud this protest but uphold the bombing tests and experiments of the Western Nations and the nuclear arming of Western Germany.

A comment on this aspect of the question is contained in a letter addressed to Lord Home by our comrade, Rhoda M. Clarke.

Here is Rhoda Clarke's letter:

Brixham, Devon,
September 1, 1961

Sir—If it is so shocking for the Russians to resume nuclear testing (and it is) why isn't it equally shocking (—more so in fact—because the governments of Britain and U.S.A. make a great parade of so-called "religion") for Britain and America to do so?

The notion that the use of nuclear bombs or the testing of them can defend anyone from anything is something that is believed only by minds in an infantile stage of development.

And it was U.S.A. with the approval of Great Britain which made and dropped the first A-bombs. *That* was shocking! And it was Macmillan who went on testing in the Pacific in defiance of a petition signed by millions of Japs against it. *That* was shocking indeed. Why not retire and occupy yourself with matters in which your illogical outlook might have less serious consequences for other British subjects and members of the human race? Yours faithfully,

One of your potential victims,
RHODA M. CLARKE

THE SPANISH STRUGGLE

Next month I shall reprint the speech made by Ethel Macdonald before the microphone at Barcelona on 19th February, 1937 attacking the Volunteer Ban.

As stated last month, the *Bellshill Speaker* from March 12 to April 16, 1937, inclusive published seven of Ethel Macdonald's speeches over the Barcelona Radio. On May 1, 1937, I reprinted these speeches as a penny broadcast sheet.

Her speech on "The Volunteer Ban", was published, in *Regeneracion*, March 7, 1937. It was not included in the broadcast sheet.

In my opinion, these speeches are more important today than when delivered.

Home supports the nuclear arming of the Nazi Bonn Government and the training of Germans in Britain. In 1937, Home stood for a ban on anti-Nazi volunteers who wished to go to Spain at their own expense to fight against Hitlerism.